5: Lowie E-5 (1910-1913)1917
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197 or the thirteen villages with which Maximilian's informants credited them,[1] in the beginning of the nineteenth century there certainly were two villages, Nū′pta (Ruhptare) and Mį′tutąk (Mihtuttahangkusch), speaking distinct dialects, as is demonstrated by Maximilian's vocabularies.[2] One of my informants added a third village, Istápe, (given by Morgan as a clan name), where she said the Nū′pta dialect was spoken.

621 It is clear from Maximilian's data that between Nū′pta and Mį′tutąk [184] there was also a minor cultural differentiation in the matter of dances. The question in connection with our immediate problem is how to conceive 614 the relation of the villages to the social divisions. Maximilian tells us that 174 the Mandan called themselves "Nū′mangkā′ke" (*nū′makā′ki*) i. e., people, and were wont to add the name of the village from which they had originally come. Thus, there were Prairie-chicken people, so-called after the Prairie-chicken village; Bear people, Cactus people, Badger people,— all named from corresponding villages.

> Obgleich nun alle die oben genannten Dörfer nicht mehr existiren, so nennen sich dennoch alle diese Indianer ihrer Abstammung zufolge noch nach denselben.[3]

This is a clear-cut statement to the effect that the Mandan clans developed in recent times from formerly distinct local groups. If we assume that the ancient village scheme involved local exogamy and matrilineal descent, or that the latter was grafted on the former, possibly through borrowing, the fusion of people from different settlements would quite naturally lead to the evolution of exogamous clans. The statement of one of my informants that all the clans were found in both Mį′tutąk and Nū′pta is not inconsistent with such a line of development since this condition would be readily brought about by intermarriage. However, all this is pure speculation and the questions involved will only become clearer after considering the social organization of the Mandan as sketched by recent informants and comparing it with that of the Hidatsa and other tribes.

616 The Mandan were divided into non-exogamous moieties corresponding [171] in name to those of the Hidatsa, viz., Three-clans (nū′makā′ki ō′rehe nā′mini) and Four-clans (nū′makā′ki ō′re tōp). According to Black-chest, the names of the moieties and the constituent clans were originated by the legendary warrior Seven-wolf when returning from a victorious expedition against the Arikara. Information is very meager as to the functions of the dual division in tribal life, but here there is again close correspondence to Hidatsa conditions. During a general council of the Mandan the Three-

[1] Maximilian, II, 103.
[2] *Ibid.*, 557–561.
[3] *Ibid.*, 104.

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participate in that historically mixed but contemporary functioning Indian culture.

CRITERIA OF ACCULTURATION

There are many superficial criteria that could be selected to divide the population of Lone Hill into groups differing in degree of acculturation, but I prefer one that has an essential connection to the Indian value system. One well-known basic value that contrasts sharply with our general American ethic is the Indian value of generosity (Bruner 1953:23–24). This value difference has a readily observable behavioral manifestation—participation in the Indian ceremonial dances. The Indian "give-away" dance is now a secular affair, featuring Indian songs and dances and the giving of war bonnets, horses, cattle, blankets, and money as gifts to prescribed relatives, distinguished visitors, societies, and the needy. It is one of the few remaining public gatherings in Lone Hill where generosity and other Indian values are expressed, reaffirmed and maintained. The following statement by an informant aptly characterizes the emotional overtones of the dance (quoted in Merrill 1951:27):

> After the people get all painted up—this is decoration, like lipstick—and the tom-toms get going and people chanting and singing (demonstrated with a rapid beat of his feet and an ai-ai-ai chant), people get all worked up and excited. Then someone gets up and makes a speech and gives away a horse, or a beef, or two beefs, and everyone gets going and there's a lot of giving-away and many people end up with little or nothing. . . . They say that property doesn't mean anything; what counts is being friendly and generous and all friends of one another. . . . People shout and praise a person (who gives away a lot) and they talk about it long afterwards.

Not every person in Lone Hill attends the dance. Some families come with all their children, stay throughout the night, and donate generously. For them the dance is an impressive and public mechanism of socialization to Indian ways. Others virtually never attend the ceremonials, as they are more concerned with the accumulation than the giving of goods. As a result, they and their children do not participate in the one public ritual that best symbolizes and makes legitimate the traditional Indian values. One acculturated Indian man had this to say about the ceremonials:

> I never go to any dances or pow-wows. These dances are the fellows breeding grounds; they go there to drink, to raise hell, and they are not Christians. A lot of these fellows . . . go there to take some gal out . . . and get her drunk. That's all these dances are for, as far as the younger people are concerned. The older people go there to get these donations; something for nothing. . . . They take their kids there and the kids don't learn much from that. They give things away and that money can be used to educate their children, buy provisions and things. It seems like with an Indian they think they are in the spotlight; it makes them feel good. I never believed in it simply because I know most families and they can't afford to do that.

Participation in the Indian ceremonials was applied to the population of Lone Hill as a criterion of acculturation. In order to define the population, it was first necessary to delimit the community, the sample, and the unit of

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It is to be emphasized that individuals in Lone Hill do not become acculturated by chance; their parents consciously and actively prepare them for a life in the white world. To be "white-oriented" is not sufficient. Almost all the adult Indian people in Lone Hill would like the approval of whites, may seek membership in white social groups, may empathize with white authority figures, may consider themselves as a "we" group with most Americans on particular issues such as opposition to communism, have adopted and understood some aspects of white culture, are able to act in white ways as a manipulatory technique in certain situations, desire American material objects, and often compare themselves with whites. After the members of the village understood the kind of information I was seeking, individuals would come and tell me themselves if they were preparing their children for a life in the Indian or the white way. One middle-aged widow came over to our home and announced, "I don't want my kids to lose their language. They speak Hidatsa and I teach them the Indian ways."

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The following conversation with Oliver Brown, a twenty-six year old veteran, and his wife, Marie, occurred toward the end of my field trip and clearly indicates that the Brown family are raising their children to emulate whites and to reject Indian ways. I knew the family well enough to take notes during the interview and reproduce them below, almost verbatim. The interview was one of a series in which I asked the parents of all the English-speaking families why they decided to teach English to their children when others in the village were taught and spoke Hidatsa. Oliver has just started in the cattle business and already has sixty-five head. Theirs is the only Indian home in Lone Hill with a bottle gas refrigerator, stove, deep freeze, and oil heater. They now have four children; a boy of three, another of two, and twin girls less than a year old. On this occasion, Oliver was watching the children, I was seated at the kitchen table, while Marie was washing the dinner dishes. I started the conversation by asking what language they had first learned at home.

MARIE: My mother used to tell us kids about Indian ways but we learned English first, and I never picked up Hidatsa good.

OLIVER: [directing his remarks to me] When kids are brought up to speak Hidatsa they have a hard time in school. I learned Hidatsa and Mandan first, both together, and then English in school. And I had a tough time of it at Marty [an off-reservation Catholic boarding school]. I felt out of place there. My kids will be brought up to speak English, strictly English.

MARIE: But they are Indians and it's in them and they will learn Indian.

OLIVER: [in an impatient tone to his wife] I don't care if they never learn to speak Indian. The Indian language don't get them no place or anything higher. [Oliver turned to me] I want my kids to get an education and make a good living some day. They'll have to mix among the whites and go to school among the whites outside. For their own good, not for my good, I want them to mix with whites and not be among Indians.

BRUNER: After your boys finish school, do you think they might want to come back here and work in your cattle business?